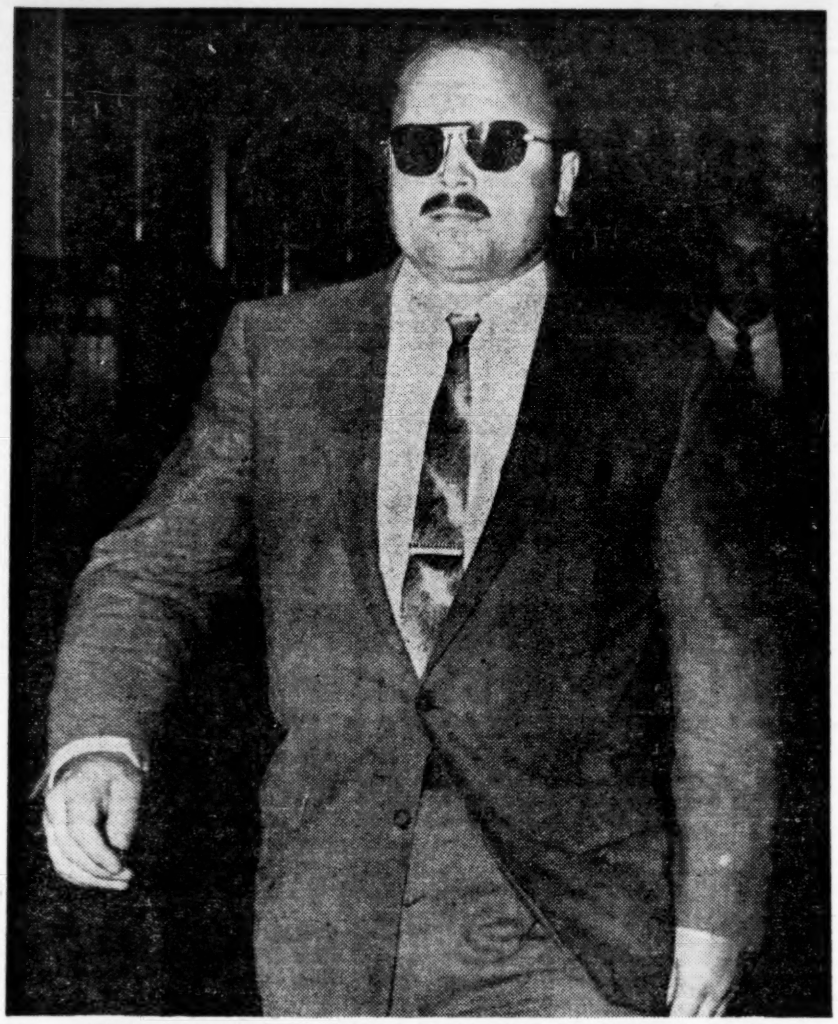
NATIONAL GUARDIAN
10 cents
the progressive newsweekly
VOL. 10, No. 2 NEW YORK, OCTOBER 28, 1957



REINO HAYHANEN: THIEF, BIGAMIST, DRUNKARD, LIAR
He said the Russians gave him $5,000 for Mrs. Sobell.

AN EDITORIAL ARTICLE

Brownell's foul play to smear Sobell's appeal is laid bare

FAIR PLAY and the right of every man to his day in court are basic American traditions. Last week the Supreme Court had before it a "supplementary memorandum" taxing the U.S. Dept. of Justice with a deliberate breach of these traditions in the case of Morton Sobell, whose motions for a new day in court are now before the high court.

What lay behind the carefully phrased memorandum, submitted by Sobell's lawyers, was a series of highly coincidental if not entirely connived news "breaks" and feature stories, all traceable to the Dept. of Justice or sources close to it, and all deeply prejudicial to Sobell and his wife, who has for nearly seven years devoted her full life to seeking justice for the man she knows to be innocent. Her efforts have won hundreds of prominent people to join in the campaign, many of whom have joined in an amicus curiae brief now before the High Court.

The lawyers' memorandum referred specifically to an article released exclusively to **Look** magazine by the Dept. of Justice, ostensibly a "preview" of a forthcoming report on the Rosenberg-Sobell Case compiled by two government attorneys at the direction of Attorney-General Herbert Brownell. It was Brownell who prevailed on the late Chief Justice Vinson to reconvene the Court in June of 1953 to countermand a stay of execution granted by Justice William O. Douglas which might have saved the lives of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

MEMORANDUM PROTESTS: Of the **Look** article, said to be based on the researches of government attorneys A. Warren Littman and Benjamin F. Pollack and purporting to contain "previously unreleased facts," the Sobell lawyers' memorandum states:

"The Government has consistently refused to deny the central allegations of the petitions [Sobell's motions now before the Court] . . . If the Government is in a position to deny our allegations, such denial should be made by sworn statements in a court of law where they will be subjected to judicial inquiry. Press releases and reports issued to national magazines do not provide an adequate substitute . . .

"It is grossly unfair to petitioner to deny him a hearing, routinely granted on comparable allegations in other cases, and at the same time to insist upon his guilt upon the basis of evidence which the Government refuses to subject to judicial scrutiny.

"The Government should be directed to present its facts in the appropriate manner and forum."

FANTASIES GALORE: Coincidentally with the appearance of the **Look** article, fantasies galore began to appear all over:

● Myles Lane, a former government prosecutor succeeding Irving Saypol who prosecuted the Rosenbergs and Sobell, drew on a scrap of testimony by David Greenglass in the Rosenberg-Sobell trial record to make a statement published everywhere in the country that Julius Rosenberg may have been responsible for giving the Soviet Union U.S. plans for an earth satellite.

● Benjamin Mandel, a researcher for Sen. Eastland's Internal Security subcommittee of the Senate, claimed to have visited Rosenberg Case witnesses David Greenglass and Harry Gold in prison. His

(Continued on Page 2)

WHERE THE ROCKS WILL LAND

Congress anti-labor spree in the cards this winter

By Lawrence Emery

EVERYBODY WITH A ROCK to throw at organized labor last week was pitching it at the head of James R. Hoffa, president-elect of the giant 1,500,000-member Intl. Brotherhood of Teamsters. The odd thing was that organized labor itself—the top leaders of the AFL-CIO—was throwing rocks as hard as anyone else. The sinner Hoffa was in the unique position of standing virtually alone in defying one of the greatest anti-labor onslaughts of modern times.

Hoffa himself was barred by a temporary court order from assuming leadership of the union; he pleaded not guilty to an indictment for perjury in New York; he won a short delay in the start of a trial on illegal wire-tapping charges; and he faced a threat of suspension for his entire union by the AFL-CIO executive council scheduled to meet in Washington Oct. 24. Looming over all this was the danger that a court-appointed "master" might be put in control of the union—and behind it all was the virtual certainty of a Congressional anti-labor spree come January.

ATTACK BROADENS: The investigating committee of Sen. John L. McClellan (D-Ark.) was not satisfied with pillorying Hoffa as an individual; by last week it had launched a bull-dozer attack against the entire union. It demanded of all locals in the Central and Southern Conferences of Teamsters (believed to be under Hoffa's direct domination) that they produce detailed financial data of cash assets, stocks and bonds, all loans since January, 1950, and all financial transactions with other teamster units.

In addition, all locals throughout the country were directed to produce detailed reports on how they selected delegates

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A YEAR AFTER THE EGYPTIAN INVASION

A new explosion in Syria—or a Summit parley?

By Kumar Goshal

THE MIDDLE EAST last week took the spotlight away from the sputnik and even Queen Elizabeth's visit to the U.S. A jittery world wondered if last year's Suez crisis would be repeated on a much larger scale on the Syrian-Turkish border.

On Oct. 18 the UN General Assembly decided without a dissenting vote to discuss Syria's complaint about "threats to the security of Syria and to international peace" and its request for an investigation of the situation on the Syrian-Turkish border. The discussion was scheduled to begin within four or five days.

Soviet UN delegate Gromyko charged the U.S. with "prodding" Turkey to launch a "lightning" attack on Syria immediately after the Oct. 27 Turkish elections. U.S. representative Lodge assured the UN that an impartial investigation would expose "the absurdity of the charges" and reveal "the true source of the tension in the entire area."

ONLY A POSE: Supporting the Syrian proposal at the UN, Gromyko said that a Turkish attack on Syria would find the Soviet Union "prepared to take part with its forces in suppressing aggression." U.S. Secy. of State Dulles topped this by suggesting that the Russians may be about to attack Turkey and, in that event, the U.S. will not be content with "purely defensive" operations nor permit Soviet territory to remain a "privileged sanctuary."

Diplomatic circles in Washington believed, N.Y. **Times** correspondent Wallace Carroll said (10/17), that "Dulles was striking a strong pose to conceal weakness." Carroll found "even within the government a widespread feeling that U.S. policy in the Middle East has reached a dead end [and] also considerable fear that the nominally 'pro-Western' regimes in Jordan, Lebanon and Iraq may not last much longer."

Recent news reports indicated that the Eisenhower Doctrine had made the position of the unpopular Arab rulers more

(Continued on Page 5)

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THE MAIL BAG

Who will tell?

SAFETY HARBOR, FLA.

While the politicians hunt someone to blame for Russia's victory over space, might it be suggested that the reason the U.S. has no space satellite yet is owing to the fact that the project is dominated by the military? At least they dominate the rockets, or rather the military's favored corporations do. In Russia the military is subordinate to the civil power. Tell Washington: there's a difference!

Bernard Raymund

Mess enough here

DAYTON, O.

The national ego has been somewhat ruffled by the fact of Russia's satellite, now buzzing 500 miles above the earth, at 18,000 miles per hour. The launching of such an artificial moon is something, but both the United States and Russia should first develop the wit to straighten out international human relations here on earth, before we attempt to invade space, to the possible—nay probable—detriment of other planets.

It would be a horrible injustice for either us or Russia to export and inflict the stinking international mess, with which we are now bedevilled, to perhaps the peacefully sane inhabitants of Mars.

J. C. Stafford

For shame

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

A thousand Sputniks soaring
through space
Could not make our country
lose face,
As much as the shock
Of Little Rock.

Auntie Toxin

Radioactive cattle

PORTAGE, Wis.

I am enclosing a report from the American Veterinary Medical Assn. regarding atomic fallout. The report mentions that humans in the area do not show an increase in radioactive iodine comparable to that seen in cattle. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that humans are not a grazing species. However, we still do not know the fate of the radioactive cattle carcasses when consumed by human beings.

I want to commend you on your forthright stand in condemning continued nuclear testing explosions in this country.

The report follows:

"Within five days of an atomic explosion, veterinarians have noticed a marked increase of radioactive iodine in the thyroid glands of Nevada cattle.

"Veterinarians in the Veterinary Corps of the U. S. Army and Air Force and researchers at the U. of California have made exhaustive studies of the effect of radioactive fall-out on livestock and livestock fodders.

"The increased radioactivity in cattle results, the researchers reported, from grazing animals on grass and foliage exposed to the fall-out of nuclear explosions.

"Human thyroids in the same area have less than one thousandth of the amount of radioactive iodine found in cattle. In human beings, this is only a small portion of the radiation received in chest x-rays, and so it is considered harmless.

Dr. Simeon Ross

Nth degree

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

The following letter was sent to all Boston papers:

The Russian earth satellite raises to the Nth degree the utter madness of a competitive race to world annihilation. This new development does not demand a bigger and better satellite by the United States, as a step toward the final bigger and better hell for the whole human race. Instead, it demands an immediate agreement to end the armaments race once and for all and start disarming.

Since absolute arms superiority for one side means absolute insecurity for the other side, we must not, if we are sincere, enter negotiations with a take-it-or-leave-it program to suit ourselves but in an honest spirit of give and take, willing to make concessions in return for Russian concessions. This is in the true interest of the American people, as of the Russian people and of the people of the whole world.

Florence H. Luscomb

Speed record

BERKELEY, CALIF.

This country has attained even greater speed than that of Russia's sputnik in the swiftness with which it has consistently rejected any and all Soviet peace and disarmament offers.

Walter Gerstel

Case not closed

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Ghana Finance Minister Gbedemah had breakfast with the President and received his apologies for refusal of a Dover, Del., restaurant to serve him. "Incident closed," chimes the press. But is it closed, when Negro Americans in a thousand Dovers across the Southland and border areas must still submit to constant affronts to their human dignity and denial of their rights as citizens?

To his credit Mr. Eisenhower has apologized to an offended diplomat. But when will he speak out as clearly as he has to Mr. Gbedmah to acknowledge and demand the redress of the grievances of 16,000,000 of his dark-skinned fellow Americans, who have been and still are subjected to life-long degradation?

Ellwood Griest

Bullseye

UPLAND, CALIFORNIA

Of all the important reports and views by the press and radio on Little Rock, not one hit-the-nail-squarely-on-the-head as did Elizabeth Burrow in her article headlined: "A malignancy worse than my cancer," GUARDIAN (9/30).

Here, again, the whole world is laughing at us.

Franklin Baxter

New shrine?

SANTA FE, N.M.

Thinking on integration, I marvel at the vehemence and moral indignation the "haves" can conjure up when they want to show the "have nots" up as degraded and unworthy. When the "haves" have sufficient police, church and legal power they will exercise their might in the name of right and God. The intellectual and moralist follow, as the pay is good. The labor of explaining to the suffering "have nots" the "justice and necessity" of the status quo is easy.

"Why not convert the floors of the House and Senate into a monument dedicated to the tellers of tall tales—a national shrine to liars?"

Preston McCrossen

Lancaster in London Express

"One of these fine days the Americans will wake up and find themselves faced by a heroine of the Soviet Union with a larger orbit than Jayne Mansfield's."

Count off!

SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

The Constitution was formed in peace for the protection of its citizens and for the continuance of this nation. Lack of interest, ignorance and intrigue have now placed our most precious possession in jeopardy. It beheoves every man and woman to stand up and be counted. **E. V. Wallace**

Kenzo wants letters

TOCHIGI-KEN, JAPAN

Hello, everybody: I am eager to exchange letters with American students. My name is Kenzo Kimura, aged 17. I live in the country. It is about 100 k.m. from Tokyo to my town. I am enrolled at the Tochigi High School and I am in the third year class. I should like to correspond with high school students who live in New York City. Please write to me. My address is 693 Kamewada-cho, Kanuma-shi, Tochigi-ken, Japan.

Kenzo Kimura

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Even thinking Arabs who fear that the Arab world is headed hellbent for disaster, find themselves hurling threats and epithets at the United States. Some of these can be interpreted in actuality as cries for help—appeals to Americans to prevent the Arabs from doing what they do not want to do.

—L.A. **Times**, 10/13

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Mrs. C. Arena, Monterey Park, Calif.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U. S. & possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $3 a year. First class and air mail on request. United Kingdom one guinea a year payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 16 Talbot Sq., London W2, England; otherwise $4 a year overseas. GUARDIAN Paris Bureau, 103, avenue de Gravelle, St. Maurice (Seine), France. Single copies 10c. Re-entered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE, *Editor-in-Exile* — JOHN T. McMANUS, *General Manager* — JAMES ARONSON, *Editor*

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Brownell's foul play

(Continued from Page 1)

report became the basis for inspired stories "from government sources" supporting the Myles Lane contention with details not previously testified to by Greenglass or Gold.

- A government witness in the Rudolph Abel spy trial in Brooklyn, Reino Hayhanen, a self-styled Soviet agent here and elsewhere until his defection to the West last May, testified that one of his assignments here in 1955 was to deliver $5,000 to Mrs. Sobell from the Soviet government. He said he was unable to deliver it, so he buried it in Bear Mountain Park in the Hudson Valley and later dug it up and spent it. Later he admitted on the stand that he was a thief, bigamist, drunkard and liar.

IN REPLY: An angry statement by Mrs. Sobell when the Hayhanen testimony was published, was supplemented by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell. The Committee denounced U.S. Attorney William F. Tompkins, prosecutor in the Abel case, for attempting to link Mrs. Sobell with espionage activity and added:

"We dare to predict that only a prosecutor with a gift for provocation and self-delusion could claim that a woman so much in the public eye as Mrs. Sobell, so single-minded in her efforts for her husband, and who has for eight years demonstrated her faith in our country and its courts, could be 'recruited for espionage'."

THE GOOD PRESS: The Portland **Oregonian** had two editorials, one entitled "Hollow Laughter Dept." ridiculing claims that the Soviet's earth satellite know-how was stolen from the U.S.; the other headed "We Need to Be Sure" urging a new hearing for Sobell. In New York the **Post** carried a Washington column lampooning the Eastland Committee for its attempt to dig up Greenglass and Gold for new testimony; and in its letters column Norman Thomas appealed for a favorable Court decision in the Sobell Case. Also the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** carried a sober editorial challenging the notion that "secrets" of great scientific advances can be stolen.

FOR THOSE WITH PRIDE OF COUNTRY as well as for those of us waging the uphill fight to free Sobell and vindicate the Rosenbergs, the official foul play surrounding the current Sobell appeal is both shameful and heartbreaking.

Yet behind it all there must be the confidence that this seven-year campaign has reached the conscience of much of the country and has raised doubts throughout the whole world. Though the trials ended in early 1951, the government has never since stopped trying to assure the world that it had a case against the Rosenbergs and Sobell. This is quite clearly why the government is going to such fantastic lengths to prevent, if it can, a Supreme Court review.

In a new trial, not Sobell but the government would inevitably be before the bar of justice. The kidnapings, perjuries, frame-up techniques which have developed to such a degree that lawyers expect them in all such federal cases would come in for a long-warranted airing; and not only the Rosenberg-Sobell case but the Hiss, Coplon and other spy melodramas of the last decade could be shown up for the fiction so many honest Americans suspect they were.

AS FOR THE **Look** article, which is obviously the government's Sunday punch in the current propaganda campaign against a re-opening of the case, it is most interesting as an indication that the writings on the Rosenberg-Sobell Case, and particularly John Wexley's **The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg**, have dented the government's confidence that its stories can hold up.

In the matter of the console table which the prosecution said the Russians gave the Rosenbergs and Julius said he bought in Macy's for $21, the **Look** article renews the government's charge that it was adapted for microfilming.

The government never produced the table at the trial to prove any of its points, so the jury had before it only the government's word versus Julius Rosenberg's. The government has never explained why it did not seize the table—as it did everything else including family snapshots—from the Rosenberg apartment. The indication is that the fiction about the table was concocted after the Rosenberg home had been broken up and its contents sold.

But the GUARDIAN found the table, photographed it, got affidavits from Macy's identifying it as a Macy table sold for some $21 including sales tax at the time Julius Rosenberg said he bought it.

It was not adapted, nor is it conceivably adaptable, for microfilming. But the lie persists, thanks to **Look** and Brownell.

WE BELIEVE that the time has come for a full-scale showdown on government frameup tactics. We hope the Supreme Court administers to the government in the Sobell Case the kind of rebuke it has handed to the Smith Act prosecutors for the use of tainted testimony to destroy honorable human beings.

—THE GUARDIAN

AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT

Wherever you can –vote independent on Nov. 5

THE EVE OF ELECTION DAY 1957 is a far cry from the hope and excitement that characterized the Progressive Party campaign of 1948—even as the first issue of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN went to press. Each year since that time, as November approached, the GUARDIAN has offered its readers a guide to independent political action at the polls. This year is no exception, even though the guide must be a brief one because there are so few independent candidates on the ballot throughout the country.

That fact in itself, it seems to us, makes it urgent to emphasize once again that there will be no real progress toward political decency in this nation until an alternative is offered to the voters—an alternative to the program of war, greed, ignorance and prejudice that marks the leadership of the two old parties as the dead hand of the past.

WHAT'S YOUR PLEASURE: The Truman Doctrine that prevented Greece and Turkey from being overrun by Red Hordes? Or the Eisenhower Doctrine that is preventing the Middle East from being overrun by the R.H.? A McCarthy witch-hunt to force workers out of their jobs for taking the Fifth Amendment? Or a McClellan witch-hunt to force anti-worker legislation under the guise of rooting out the crooks in the labor movement?

We could go on with the choreography of this Republocrat ballet, but we hardly think it is necessary. What is necessary is to encourage progressive voters, sickened by this spectacle into a state of non-voting, not to let their ballots go by default if they can help it.

IN A FEW PLACES where the GUARDIAN readership is considerable there are independent candidates on the ballot. In New York and Detroit and San Francisco the progressive voter has a choice, and we urge you in these cities to vote for the candidates who have campaigned on platforms of social betterment for the majority of the people. They are:

IN NEW YORK: Joyce Cowley for Mayor; Morris Zuckoff for Comptroller; Lillian Keizel for President of the City Council. They are the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party. In Brooklyn, a write-in vote for Alvin Berman, SWP candidate for Borough President, whose name was ruled off the ballot although he had 7,000 signatures when 5,000 were needed for a place.

Also in New York, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn for City Council in the 24th Senatorial District (Manhattan's lower East side). The veteran Communist leader is running on the People's Rights ticket.

IN DETROIT: Sara Lovell, on the SWP ticket, for Mayor.

IN SAN FRANCISCO: Frank Barbaria and Joan Jordan, SWP candidates for the Board of Supervisors.

THE GUARDIAN INDORSES these candidates (1) in defense of the right of minority parties to be on the ballot and (2) in support of people with the guts and integrity it takes to buck the machines and the apathy that dominate the American political scene today.

You may disagree—as we do—with some of the policies of the parties sponsoring the independent candidates. But these disagreements should not take precedence over the urgent need to keep alive the spark of independent progressive political action.

Don't throw your vote away by casting a ballot for a candidate you don't want. Make your vote count by casting it for a candidate who will register for you a constructive vote for progress. By this action you will encourage others who one day will join with you in picking the winner.

—THE EDITORS

EXPLOSIVE CASES CROWD DOCKET

Virginia's 'placement' law voided by Supreme Court

IN A TWO-WEEK PERIOD ending Oct. 28 the new term of the Supreme Court will have heard some 20 cases, many of which are expected to have explosive effects in the fields of civil liberties and the protection of minorities.

On Oct. 21 the high court refused to review an appeal from a lower court decision ordering integration of schools in Norfolk and Newport News, Va. The effect was to uphold a ruling by Federal Judge Walter E. Hoffman that schools in the two cities begin integration in September; the Judge must now set a new date. The Judge had also declared the State's anti-integration Pupil Placement Act "unconstitutional on its face." The State of Virginia had sought to delay action on the cases until after gubernatorial elections next month in which school integration is the sole issue. Virginia authorities had anticipated an adverse ruling on the Pupil Placement Act by enacting other laws which can still delay integration indefinitely.

But sharing interest with Supreme Court decisions were three cases to come before a Federal Court of Appeals in Washington on Oct. 23 arising from the Supreme Court's *Watkins* ruling last June 17. In the *Watkins* case the high court set sharp limits to the authority of Congressional committees to investigate personal beliefs and associations.

The appeals court cases involve Abram Flaxer, former president of the now-defunct United Public Workers; Lloyd Barenblatt, a Vassar psychology teacher; and Harry Sacher, attorney for numerous Smith Act victims in New York City. The three cases will be heard together and the outcome will have a decisive effect on many other cases involving Congressional committee abuses.

MANY ARE AFFECTED: Flaxer, whose case has been before the courts for six years, refused to deliver to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee the names of 35,000 members of his former union. Sacher refused to answer subcommittee questions concerning Harvey Matusow, publicly-confessed liar during his career as a professional government witness. Barenblatt refused to answer questions of the House Committee on Un-American Activities concerning communist associations.

All three men were convicted of contempt of Congress and the convictions were affirmed by the Court of Appeals. But the Supreme Court sent the cases back for reconsideration in the light of the *Watkins* ruling. It is regarded as unlikely that the convictions will again be upheld but if they are the three may again appeal to the Supreme Court.

Other contempt of Congress cases held in abeyance awaiting the appeals court decision include: playwright Arthur Miller; New York newsmen Robert Shelton and William Price; Mary Knowles, Quaker librarian; former union organizer John Gojack; Harry Russell of Yellow Springs, Ohio; Goldie Watson, Philadelphia teacher; Bernard Deutsch, graduate student at the U. of Pennsylvania; and Herman Liveright, former TV program director in New Orleans.

FOREIGN BORN TESTS: Several cases affecting the rights of foreign born are now before the Supreme Court. They include Charles Rowoldt, a resident of this country for 40 years, whose appeal challenges the constitutionality of a clause in the Internal Security Act of 1950; Stefana Brown of Detroit, who was convicted of contempt for refusing to answer questions about communism during a denaturalization hearing; and Myer Klig, a Russian-born Canadian now under a deportation order on grounds of past CP membership. Also a cluster of cases awaits the Court's decision on former Michigan State Senator Stanley Nowak's appeal from a denaturalization order.

Two cases of contempt involving Smith Act defendants are up for review. One involves Oleta O'Connor Yates of Los Angeles who, during her trial on Smith Act charges, refused to identify co-defendants as communists. She argues that multiple contempt sentences were so severe as to be cruel and inhuman punishment, constitute double jeopardy and violate due process of law. The other case is that of Gil Green and Henry Winston, Smith Act victims who were sentenced to three years for contempt for refusing to obey a court order to appear for sentencing on their original Smith Act conviction.

"HOT CARGO" CASE: Two cases involving trade unions are also before the high court. One involves the relationship between "hot cargo" clauses in many union contracts and provisions of the Taft-Hartley law against secondary boycotts. Under hot cargo clauses, workers refuse to handle goods or material from non-union or struck firms. A second Union case is brought by a group of Negro workers in Texas who charge they are barred from membership in the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks because of their race.

Among other decisions handed down by the Supreme Court on Oct. 14, one rejected the appeal of Hugh Bryson of San Francisco, former president of the now-defunct Marine, Cooks & Stewards Union. He was convicted of violating the non-communist affidavit provision of the Taft-Hartley law and is under a sentence of five years in prison and a $10,000 fine. Unless the court agrees to a rehearing, which it seldom does, Bryson will serve his sentence.

HUGH BRYSON
Sentenced to five years

The court also rejected the appeal of John Kasper, which leaves in effect a one-year sentence of contempt imposed against him for interfering with a Federal court order for integration of schools in Clinton, Tenn., last year.

SMITH ACT RETRIAL: Following the Supreme Court's Oct. 14 reversal of the convictions of Junius Scales and Claude Lightfoot under the membership clause of the Smith Act, the Dept. of Justice announced that it would "undoubtedly" re-try them in conformity with the Jencks ruling governing admission of FBI reports in criminal prosecutions. The reversal was recommended by the government itself and was seen as a move to delay for a year or more a review of the constitutionality of the membership clause.

In the case of Virgil D. Hawkins, Negro student trying to enter Florida University Law School since 1949, the Washington **Post** commented that the Supreme Court's avoidance of a collision with the Florida state court might be a "virtue of patience" but added: "The right to an education must be enforced before the student becomes too old to take advantage of it."

ABRAM FLAXER
A question of conscience

Quick, Philip, the needle

WILLIAMSBURG, Va., Oct. 16—The crowds waxed ecstatic Wednesday as Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip rode through this restored colonial Virginia Capitol in a phaeton drawn by two brown horses—but the horses were pretty tranquil.

There was reason for the equanimity of the horses. They had been dosed with tranquilizing drugs against any sudden show of spirit that might jeopardize the safety of the royal British couple.

Marion Bachrach dies

MRS. MARION ABT BACHRACH, journalist, Smith Act defendant and former public relations director of the Communist Party, died of cancer in New York's Manhattan General Hospital on Oct. 16. Mrs. Bachrach was 57. She had been ill for many years.

She worked as a freelance writer after her graduation from the University of Chicago in the depression. In 1937 she became the congressional secretary of Farmer-Labor Party Congressman John T. Bernard of Minnesota. She later worked for the New York daily, PM, then became Secy. of the Council for Pan-American Democracy, championing a progressive policy in Latin America.

In 1951 she was indicted under the Smith Act with 21 other CP leaders, but the cancer which plagued her even then caused the court to sever her case. In 1955, after a court physician insisted her condition was satisfactory, she was brought to trial. Last year she was acquitted.

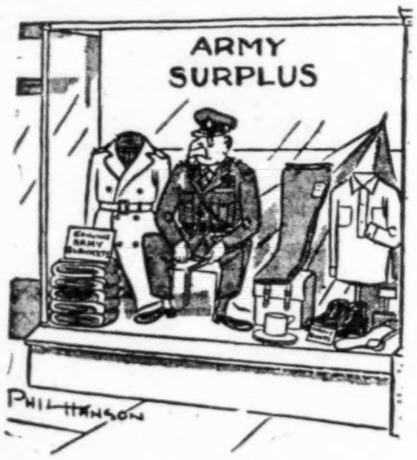
NO RIDDLE TO RUSSIAN DIPLOMACY

Khrushchev spells it out: talk, compete, don't fight

I cannot forecast the action of Russia. It is a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma.
—Winston Churchill

SITTING behind a green baize table in his austere office in Soviet CP headquarters in Moscow, First Secretary Nikita Khrushchev has been host to several interviewers in the last six months. Disregarding protocol, the unorthodox and voluble Soviet leader has answered questions patiently and in detail. In these answers he has repeated certain points in a manner which leaves no room for doubt as to his meaning.

THE BIG QUESTION: Among the visitors have been Turner Catledge, managing editor of the N.Y. **Times**; Tomoo Hirooka, editor-in-chief of the Tokyo **Asahi Shimbun**; CBS correspondent Daniel Schorr, N.Y. **Herald Tribune** correspondent B. J. Cutler and TV's "Face the Nation" moderator Stuart Novins on a CBS interview; a group of British Tory MPs and Labour Party leader Aneurin Bevan; Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, and, most recently, N.Y. **Times** Washington correspondent James Reston.



Reveille, London

Some basic questions were asked by all. They concerned: (1) nuclear weapons tests; (2) disarmament; (3) relaxation of tensions in Europe and the Middle East; (4) peaceful coexistence. Following is a summary of Khrushchev's replies on these issues:

NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS: "The Soviet Union is at any moment ready to sign an agreement on the prohibition of these weapons. . . . If we cease our tests [unilaterally] we shall weaken our defensive power in some measure [which] might prompt the imperialist forces to undertake an adventurous step . . . You will recall the recent bellicose statement by the American Gen. Norstad, NATO Supreme Commander, in which he asserted that the Soviet Union could be destroyed in a matter of hours . . We do not want to be like the lamb who is defenseless against the wolf."

DISARMAMENT: "We are in favor of full disarmament. We don't need any arms if you accept our existence . . . When we increase our arms, it means that we are afraid of each other. Russian troops, before the Revolution, never approached Britain and never entered America . . . but troops of the U.S. approached our Far East, Japanese troops were in our Far East and French troops in our city of Odessa . . . Before the time when troops will be drawn out of Europe and military bases will be liquidated, of course, the disarmament will not succeed."

RELAXATION OF TENSIONS: "There is a knot that creates that tension . . . European security [requires] the liquidation of military blocs. . . . A solemn renouncement by the great powers of the use of armed forces in the Near and Middle East could . . . contribute to the relaxation of tension in that area."

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE: ["The U.S. and the U.S.S.R.] are the two most powerful nations industrially and militarily so far as atomic and hydrogen bombs are concerned as well as conventional arms. . . . If it were possible to come to an agreement with the U.S. we could possibly come to an agreement with Britain and other powers. Our agreement should not be to the detriment of our relations with other powers . . . Ideological problems will always exist between us. But that should not prevent us from having good neighborly relations.

"We are prepared to confer now. A meeting of the leaders of governments would be a useful thing . . . But the questions for discussion at such a conference should be prepared beforehand; otherwise there would be disappointments for the participants in the conference and for the people they represent."

"HUNKY - DORY": Washington's response to Khrushchev's overtures brought stock answers.

At his press conference on Oct. 16, Secy. of State Dulles repeated what has become the stock Washington answer to Moscow's proposals for peaceful coexistence: "They have constantly taken the position that there were only really two great powers in the world that mattered —the Soviet Union and the United States —and if we two could get together and divide up the world, everything would be hunky-dory." This was a folksy but inaccurate description of Soviet policy.

The State Dept. rejected Soviet feelers for an invitation to Marshal Zhukov to come to Washington, although Moscow acted after the President had told the press such a visit could be useful. Mr. Eisenhower called the CBS interview with Khrushchev an attempt by "a commercial firm in this country to improve its own commercial standing." Many U.S. commentators praised CBS. John Crosby (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 6/12) said: "Most serious students of Russia in this country are agreed that Khrushchev's remarks about disarmament indicate a serious Soviet concern about the East-West arms race."

A careful reading of the complicated U.S. disarmament proposals, Secy. Dulles' speech at the opening of the UN Assembly and his article in **Foreign Affairs** (Oct., '57) would force the conclusion, as **I. F. Stone's Weekly** noted (10/7), that Dulles "envisions continued testing, and continued production **in order to have more and better nuclear arms to distribute** to all countries around the Sino-Soviet perimeter." In plugging for "clean bombs" in his UN speech, Dulles accused the Soviet Union of desiring that "nuclear weapons be only the 'horror' type of weapons."

CURIOUS NOTION: Columnist Walter Lippmann (10/15) seemed to be expressing a growing awareness in the U.S. of the dangers of Washington's policies. He noted the absurdity of "the curious notion that Russia can be induced" to allow Adenauer's West Germany to swallow East Germany and bring the whole into NATO, and "the extraordinary notion that Russia, the greatest power bordering on the Middle East can . . . be excluded" from that region.

Lippmann concluded: "Again and again, the Eisenhower-Dulles policy is a refusal to recognize the facts of life. A policy which is not grounded in the realities will have objectives that are unattainable and will produce consequences that are unforeseen."

Soviet leaders, Joseph Alsop said (**Herald Tribune**, 10/18), have seized "every conceivable opportunity to press for . . . a new dialogue with the American leadership." Instead of boasting about the sputnik, the **Times** said (10/13), they have conceded that technological competition is a see-saw affair.

The **Herald Tribune's** Roscoe Drummond summed up: "Khrushchev has used these words more than once: 'Let us live in peace . . . Let us compete . . . As far as the question of which system (capitalism or communism) will come out on top . . . let our peoples decide that'."

What Khrushchev told Aneurin Bevan

Earlier this month Aneurin Bevan, leader of the left-wing of the British Labour Party, had an interview with Soviet CP secretary Khrushchev in Moscow. A report on the interview appeared in the Oct. 18 issue of the London Tribune. *The GUARDIAN reprints below Khrushchev's comments in reply to several of Bevan's questions.*

Vicky in London Daily Mirror

TIME FOR A MEETING AT THE SUMMIT

WHY IS IT that your diplomats are making so many mistakes these days? And why is it that we in the Soviet Union are having so many successes? You are more experienced than we are, you have centuries of diplomatic training behind you, and much more knowledge of international affairs. Look at the Middle East, for example, consider your failure in Jordan, your blunder over Egypt and now consider Syria.

I will tell you why. It is not because you have lost your skill but because your line is not correct, and ours is.

In the Middle East your Government and that of the United States are on the side of imperialism against the Arab masses. We are on the side of the people against imperialist exploitation.

The Arab people know that we have no interest to serve in the Middle East. We have got all the oil we need, but without Middle East oil you could not live.

We in the Soviet Union have always realized that fact. We have no wish to cut off the people of Europe from their oil supplies, but you should get them on commercial terms and under conditions which maintain the independence of the Arab peoples and their right to choose what Governments they desire.

TAKE SYRIA. We have lent her credits, and we have supplied her with weapons for defense at her own request. This has been described, especially in America, as evidence of Soviet aggressive intentions, and as an act of provocation.

When you and the United States provide weapons to members of the Baghdad Pact, and especially to Saudi Arabia and to Jordan, it's all right. But when the Soviet Union does the same with Egypt and with Syria, it is an act of provocation.

We offered some time ago, to stop the supply of arms to the Middle East if you and the Americans would do the same. But you had committed yourselves to the Baghdad Pact which was aimed at us. What did you expect us to do?

Now what is going to happen in Syria? I will tell you. We have evidence of America's intentions. That is why Mr. Loy Henderson was sent to the Middle East, and especially to Turkey.

On this occasion, Israel is to be kept in the background, because any move by her would unite the Arab States. In the first instance, Turkey is also to be kept quiet because an offensive act by her would have the same result.

BUT THERE ARE gentlemen from Syria in Istanbul, under the protection of the Turkish government who are to maneuver themselves into office in Syria. These favor the United States.

Once they are in office, something will happen—and if it doesn't happen it will be made to happen—of which the Soviet Union or elements favorable to the Soviet Union will be accused.

It will be pretended that Syrian independence is in danger, and then this Syrian Government will invite the Turks, whose troops are concentrated on Syrian frontiers, to enter in order to protect Syria against Communist domination.

This we will not accept. We have all the evidence that what I have said is true, and when the time comes we shall produce it.

U.S.—U.S.S.R. STRUGGLE THE CRUX

Is neutrality Israel's road to security?

By Ursula Wassermann
Special to the Guardian

TEL AVIV, ISRAEL

EVERY DAY brings news of some incident, such as the capture of an Israeli fishing-boat by Egypt, or the 40-minute exchange of fire on the Turkish-Syrian border, which sends tremors through the Middle East.

Every day brings news of frantic diplomatic activity inside the region, with Arab potentates and high functionaries travelling almost continuously between Damascus, Amman, Beirut, Cairo and points further east; and equally frantic activity in Washington or Moscow or the UN.

But it was Foreign Minister Golda Meir's statement to the General Assembly, as well as her meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko, which has caused most comment here. Much of Mrs. Meir's speech, specifically directed to the Soviet Union, must have been reflected in her private talk with Gromyko. Taking both her text and all that is known about her interview, a not-very-happy picture emerges on the state of Israel-Soviet relations.

"OTHER QUARTERS": Mrs. Meir was quite correct, neutral observers feel, in noting "the special and unique danger in the fact that, while Egypt and Syria are being flooded with arms from the Soviet Union, other Arab states, no less vigorous in their hostility to Israel, are receiving arms from other quarters." But by not naming the U.S. as those "other quarters," and specifically spelling out the Soviet Union as the villain, Israel by implication aligned herself with the anti-Soviet bloc.

One of Israel's leading industrialists—to the right of the Ben-Gurion Government—told this correspondent: "It is perfectly senseless—and the sheerest demagogy to boot—for a small country like ours constantly to be getting into quarrels with U.S.S.R. To survive, we must depend on the good will of east and west alike. Will we never learn that our only security lies in complete neutrality?"

Yet, these views are hardly reflected in the local press. **Davar** (Mapai, leading coalition party) and **Hatzofe** (religious coalition groups) warmly praised Mrs. Meir for asking Gromyko whether co-existence did not also apply to the Middle East. **Kol Haam** (Communist Party) accused her of overlooking the fact that the Soviet Union had several times called for a halt in the Middle East arms race.

HALF-TRUTHS: Neither view reflects more than a half-truth: Co-existence does not depend on the Soviet Union alone; and the West widened the breach between Israel and the Arab states long before Moscow first appeared on the Middle Eastern scene in 1955. On the other hand, the Soviet Union since 1955 has done little to pour oil on the troubled waters. By matching tank for tank and jet for jet it has helped to widen the rift.

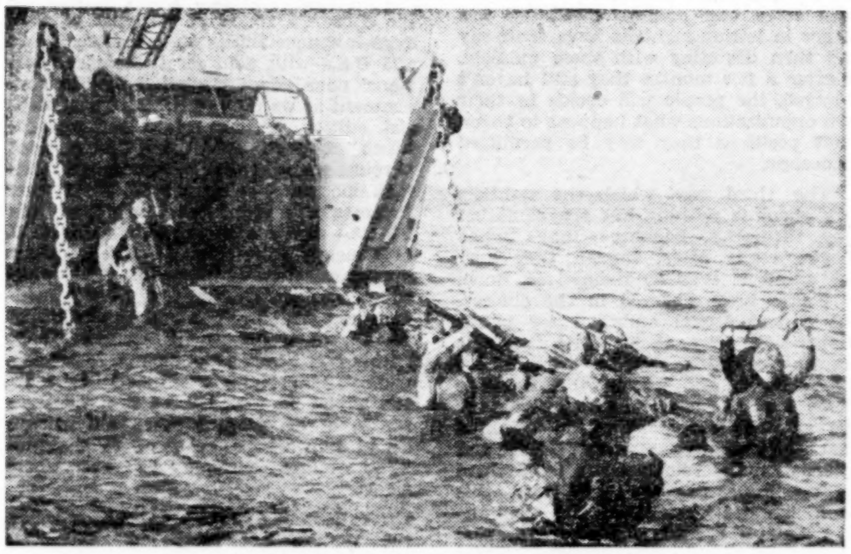
However, it must have sounded somewhat odd to those who recall the Sinai and Suez campaigns of a year ago for Mrs. Meir to deny any Israel "aggressive intentions or designs against the independence or integrity of any of its neighbors." Most Israelis feel genuinely that, after years of threats and border clashes, Israel acted in self-defense. Yet, by her alliance with two colonial powers trying to set the clock back, Israel lost much sympathy, not only among socialist countries, but among all those who have only recently shaken off the colonial yoke. Apart from a few Arab rulers who see in Israel a threat to their feudal interests, it is not Israel as such which is hated by the Arabs but Israel acting, as it is believed, as a "front" for Britain and France last year, for America this year under the Eisenhower Doctrine.

STATES AND CLASSES: It is, of course, absurd for Soviet CP Secretary Khrushchev to state that while Israel consists of many classes, the Soviets are in favor of the socialists in Israel but not of the state. For the same argument would apply, in even greater measure, to the Arab countries, which also have many classes. The Arabs enjoy as states—not as socialists—the full moral and material support of the Soviet Union.

The crux of the matter is not, as **Al Hamishmar** (Mapam-Left Socialist) and the Jerusalem **Post**, often a government spokesman, said, that the Soviet Union wishes to see Israel destroyed; it is that in the Soviet-American struggle for supremacy in the Middle East, the Soviet Union is quite willing to play on the anti-Israel feelings in the Arab countries, just as Britain did already in mandate days and as the West has done persistently in re-arming the Arabs ever since their defeat in 1949. If Washington cannot be consistently pro-Arab, because of powerful Jewish pressure at home, this same pressure does not exist in the Soviet Union.

THE REAL CONFLICT: Haaretz (non-party) said on Oct. 8 that Soviet policy is not primarily directed against Israel but against American bases in the Middle East. The real conflict lies neither between Israel and the Arab countries, nor between Tel Aviv and Moscow, but between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

The arms race in this region, coupled with daily threats and ultimatums, must yield to a revaluation of policy and the realization that Russia is in the Middle East to stay. Otherwise Israel's position will remain precarious in the extreme and the danger of war will hang heavy.



U.S. MARINES PLAY WAR IN TURKEY
Is U.S. over its head in "Exercise Deepwater"?

EGYPTIANS WANT TO PLAY TOO
Tanks roll through Cairo on their way to Syria

A new explosion?

(Continued from Page 1)

precarious than ever and that they were trying to disengage themselves from Washington's embrace. The **Christian Science Monitor** reported (10/14): "Arab countries are having second thoughts about too close an alignment with the U.S. Washington's too obvious efforts to arm Arab against Arab, to set off Jordan against Syria, Saudi Arabia off against Egypt, are having repercussions."

ARABS UNITE: The **Monitor** also said that Dulles' September statement hinting invocation of the doctrine against Syria "was interpreted by Arabs generally to mean that the U.S. was considering military intervention in Syria, either directly or through Turkey, Washington's chief Middle Eastern ally. This interpretation was buttressed by the fact that Turkey, disturbed at the prospect of a Communist country on its southern flank, began to mass troops near the Syrian border."

Fearful of a repetition of the days between the two world wars when Britain and France controlled and divided the Middle East without Arab consent, the Arab world evidently began to close ranks in the face of provocations of the Eisenhower Doctrine. They were also afraid that a general holocaust would eliminate their unpopular regimes.

UN DOUBTS WAR: Jordan and Iraq denied that Syria threatened their security and came to the support of Syrian independence. King Saud of Saudi Arabia rushed from one Arab capital to another in an effort to maintain Arab unity, and even offered to mediate between Syria and Turkey. Saud said the offer had been accepted, but Syria and Turkey failed to confirm this. Even Lebanon, the most pro-U.S. Arab state, after pocketing its share of U.S. Middle East aid, implored to be released from adherence to the doctrine or at least from the doctrine's insistence on combatting "international communism."

The general feeling in the UN, however, was that war was not imminent in the Middle East, that the sharpness of the Moscow-Washington accusations reflected Moscow's intense desire for a summit conference on the Middle East and Washington's insistence on preventing the Soviet Union from having any voice in Middle Eastern affairs. Latest news reports seemed to bolster this theory.

TO THE SOCIALISTS: On Oct. 15, for example, Khrushchev, on behalf of the Soviet CP Central Committee, wrote a letter to the British Labour Party and the Socialist parties of the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, France, Italy and Belgium.

For the preservation of peace in the Middle East, the letter urged these parties to support "a statement by Britain, the Soviet Union, the U.S. and France condemning the use of force as a means of solving unsettled issues . . . rejecting intervention in the internal affairs of the countries of this area, and giving up the delivery of arms to all these countries." Noting that British Prime Minister Macmillan was following Queen Elizabeth to Washington, the Soviet news agency **Tass** urged that the Soviet Union be included in any Washington-London conference to make it fruitful.

REAPPRAISALS: Neither Washington nor London seemed receptive to Soviet suggestions. Dulles was reported "preparing a new approach" to Middle East problems. This would "correct the complex misunderstandings that have arisen over the Eisenhower Doctrine" by speaking more harshly to Moscow and more softly to the Arabs (**Times**, 10/21). Macmillan was coming to obtain greater nuclear weapons cooperation from the U.S. to offset Soviet supremacy displayed in launching the sputnik. The **Times** reported (10/19) that London "shared with the Administration in Washington [the] assumption that progress can be made toward stability in the Middle East without discussing that area's future with the Soviet Union."

The **Times** also said that many Conservative party members disagreed with Macmillan. "Labour leaders," the London **New Statesman** said (10/19), "feel that . . . there is a real danger of war in the Middle East, if not today over Syria, then tomorrow over Israel, or Egypt or Jordan; and that it is futile to make exclusion of Soviet influence from that area the main objective of western policy."

NELSON RULING APPLIES

Jenkinses win round in New Orleans case

JUDY AND GRADY JENKINS of New Orleans have won a first-round victory in their defense against charges of violating Louisiana "anti-subversive" laws. Judge J. Bernard Cocke has quashed the first set of charges to come before him on grounds that the Supreme Court's decision in the Steve Nelson case established that such state laws had been superseded by Federal legislation. Prosecutor Leon D. Hubert has appealed to the State Supreme Court. Both sides have 60 days in which to file briefs. The Jenkinses were represented by attorney James I. McCain.

Rally against the Bomb

A RALLY, designed to focus public opinion and world attention on the threat to mankind by nuclear fallout, will be held on Sunday afternoon, Nov. 3, on the football field of Van Nuys High School, Van Nuys, Calif.

Congressman Chet Holifield will be the main speaker.

Rev. John Simmons of St. Mathews Lutheran Church is chairman of the rally sponsored by the Committee Against Nuclear Explosions, 1047 No. Havenhurst Dr., Los Angeles 14.

WE "ALL FEEL WE BELONG"

Rectification: China's moral revival

By Cedric Belfrage

SHANGHAI

WEARING the old school tie in my honor (St. John's College, Cambridge, on whose soccer and tennis teams he starred), match tycoon N. N. Lieu greeted me in his comfortable home here and talked enthusiastically about the new order. While the cabinet hi-fi played symphony selections, and a servant cooled us with beer from the electric refrigerator, the 46-year-old scion of China's second richest industrial family said:

"If anyone had told me a few years ago I'd feel this way, I'd have said he was crazy. But I think after a few more years I can be as progressive as any of our factory workers."

One part of what he told me explained this "socialist capitalist's" attitude in terms any Wall Streeter could understand. He still has a match factory in the capitalist world—in Hong Kong—and business is shot to hell because of rugged competition for markets. In China the Lieu family—with interests including cement, wool, coal, glue, banking, a Shanghai wharf—"lost our shirts" in the inflation and corruption chaos under Chiang Kai-shek. Since 1949 business has steadily improved, and the government's 5% dividend guarantee under the new joint state-private operation nets the family $1 million yuan ($450,000 U.S.) a year.

WORD IS LIBERATION: In addition, said N. N. Lieu, "I've been promoted—I'm now the government's major policy manager for all Shanghai match factories, with a government man as my assistant." The 5% divvy continues for seven years—a limit to which some capitalists object — but it will bring Lieu "more money than I'd know what to do with anyway."

So the word for Lieu, too, is "liberation." Recently "the government asked us to hold rectification meetings in our chambers of commerce to hear the views of business men on all subjects." There they were required to speak honestly to their fellows about their own thinking, to "place the facts and figures on the table" about the new order, and to refute if they could the demonstration that socialism is right because it serves the greatest good of the greatest number.

"We heard a lot of absolute rubbish from a few business men who resent being no longer the sole boss," said Lieu, "but you couldn't sensibly argue with the figures. Costs down, quality improved, workers happy—that's the best answer."

GO TELL IKE: Lieu, who has stopped arguing, asked me: "Why don't you tell Dulles and Eisenhower to come and compare the old and new China? Some say the Communists are no good, but it's a miracle what they've done in eight years. Those who don't realize that, who resent criticism and refuse to be educated by facts, will find themselves stranded with no supporters. But the workers, although they know they won't be free from exploitation until the 7-year dividend arrangement ends, go along with us if we go along with them."

Marxist study and the march of events have clarified for Lieu how he, as a Chinese capitalist, formerly suffered exploitation from the imperialist giants. He was in the position of an independent grocery man in the U.S. with an A & P supermarket opening across the street. The grocer has the choice of becoming a voiceless cog in the A & P machine or going bankrupt. The new China offers Lieu a different alternative: to work in full partnership with the state, which respects and needs his executive ability. As a powerful extra dividend it offers him a new sense of patriotic pride in citizenship of a country that has at last stood up.

TAKES A LONG TIME: As for Communists, Lieu's old ideas about them, as a faithful **Time** and **Readers' Digest** subscriber, were capped by Kuomintang insistence that they would "rape my wife, steal my business and chop my head off." But conditions under Chiang (Washington's last-ditch support for Chiang baffles him completely) were so appalling that he felt like taking a chance.

"You know, it takes some years to understand the Communists. When they begin a big movement you think they're being too hasty; later you see they were right. But they're always polite, and if they've been wrong they hold themselves responsible, and they expect the same from you. In our factories in the old days I would lose my temper and throw my weight around although I was wrong, but now I feel I make few mistakes because I consult people. Most of the Communists are much better people than me: look at their homes and food and clothing and pay compared with mine—and they work ten times harder. They compliment us for our good ideas but criticize us for thinking too much of ourselves. The new way of admitting mistakes was impossible in old China. Chiang could never be wrong—but in fact he was always wrong. Of course nobody likes criticism at first, and it takes time to realize it makes you happier in the end.

BISHOP LI PO-YU
Before Peitang Cathedral, Peking

THE COCKTAIL SET: "What we had before wasn't freedom but encroachment on others' freedom—and for what? For a ridiculous life of tennis and cocktail and gambling parties, of 17-day New Year celebrations in our cozy homes while people starved and froze outside, of hypocritical back-slappings from 'friends' who wouldn't give you the time of day if you ever stopped being rich.

"I saw it again last spring when I visited my factory in Hong Kong—the same 'I'm rich and can do what I like' gang, just like in the old Shanghai. I'm not quite cured yet. Recently when a small boy threw some muddy water at my car I got out in a rage and spanked him, and an old pedicab man came up and said: 'Mister, in new China we don't educate little boys by hitting them, we've got to talk to them.' I needed an illiterate pedicab man to tell me the right thing."

"Right and wrong"—you hear the words everywhere in China. Socialism is right, the people's interest is right. Some religious "rightists," like some business ones, can't get convincingly through this necessary needle's eye, but the "brain-washed" majority of their fellows will continue harrying them until they face the facts and themselves draw the logical conclusions.

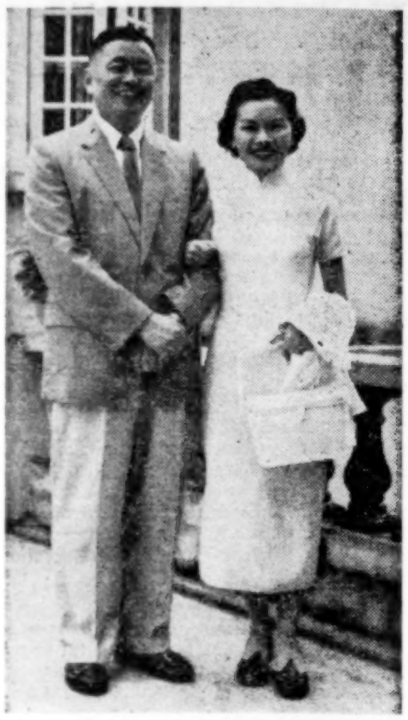
FREEDOM TO SPEAK: "This rectification campaign," said Dr. Y. T. Wu, "is a very Christian thing." The elderly Moderator of the Church of Christ in China, spare and vigorous and with an intent gaze behind thick-lensed glasses, received me in the big Protestant headquarters here. "The Kuomintang regime suppressed all criticism because it was doing wrong. Some of my fellow Christians say there is no freedom now, but I say we are free to say what is right and wrong. Previously, if you spoke out against even the gravest mistakes, you were in danger of death. The Communist Party is sincerely asking for criticism. When a government is doing many things for the people—and the people see them—it isn't afraid. It doesn't believe force can achieve anything, but rather in letting rightists have their say and then disputing with them publicly. If after a few months they still haven't changed, the people will decide in their own organizations what happens to them, what positions they may be permitted to occupy.

"The 'third way' which the rightists talk about is nothing but the capitalist way with U.S. backing — that's what they're really after, though they may not admit it even to themselves. Some of course have suffered in the change, but it is personal ambition for power that mainly drives them. When the facts are on the table and we argue about what's right and wrong, this becomes clear. Rectification is showing how far the rightists miscalculated in thinking that the 'hundred flowers' policy and international developments offered them an opening. Instead of weakness, this campaign has brought out the Communist Party's tremendous strength, and no rightist dares argue directly against socialism as such.

"Among Christians, some of us see this campaign as the expression of a new and higher social morality. Others still think religion and politics can't mix. But whatever we think on that, Chairman Mao has done a great thing: the mature way he has talked to us makes us all feel we belong."

ROME AND PEKING: Dr. Wu, well-known to Western theologians and now a member of the Natl. People's Congress standing committee, is chairman of the Protestant "Three Self Movement" (self-administration, self-support, self-propagation).

Of China's 3,000,000 Catholics, Bishop Li-Po-yu of Chou Chih says "all but a few" welcomed liberation and see no contradiction between love of country and of "our church whose center is Rome." Catholic leaders last month formed a Chinese Catholic Patriotic Assn. which



MR. AND MRS. N.N. LIEU
Socialist capitalists

rejected Vatican authority in all but "dogma and morals."

Dropping in at Shanghai's "China Bible Store," I found 59 varieties of Chinese-language Bibles on sale from 25c to $25 U.S.—with gold for the costlier editions' page edges "supplied by the government as we require it." A special Baptist edition, identical save for replacement of "sprinkling" by "immersion" throughout, is available. Nearby is a religious bookstore—a merger of four former Protestant enterprises including the YMCA—where a stooped Chinese Ph.D. of Chicago University displayed for me a wide selection of illustrated Bible wall-texts. Moslem, Buddhist and other leaders agree with Dr. Wu that the "wild rumors" of religious persecution have "proved entirely groundless." A Moslem pedicab man, "pidgin"-educated by tourists whom he once hauled in a rickshaw for ¼ of his present take, said when I asked him where he went to worship: "Too many mosque in everywhere street."

NEW MORALITY: In a broader sense, the picture of "rectifying" China is much more like a religious revival. The new morality into which capitalists, intellectuals and old-time religionists are expected to fit presents a stern set of values. These include the "not a thread, not a needle from the people" of the 8th Route Army; total change of attitude toward women, formerly regarded as property; and understanding that—although bourgeois intellectuals generally lead people's revolutions—all their brainprowess is nothing unless put to the people's service.

As a party man put it to me: "Many of these comrades'* ideas are rooted in feudalism, so that a two-stage jump is being asked of them. Such habits of mind can't be wiped out quickly. Even after the Communist state begins, it may be years before rightists can be expected to die out."

**The word is not confined in China to CP members.*

Whatwasthatagain?

Excerpts from the transcript of the President's news conference Oct. 9, 1957:

QUESTION by Charles W. Bailey, Minneapolis Star and Tribune: Sir, can you tell us sir, whether you had any advance information that a Russian satellite launching was imminent?

THE PRESIDENT: Not imminent. For a number of months different scientists have told me, or different people—I don't know whether it was ever told to me officially—that they were working on it, they were doing something about it, but—but again no one ever suggested to me as authentic of a race except, of course, time more than once we would say, well, there is going to be a great psychological advantage in world politics to putting the thing up, but that didn't seem to be a reason, in view of the real scientific character of our development, there didn't seem to be a reason for just trying to grow hysterical about it.

A REPORT ON THE NEGROES IN THE NORTH

America facing a great social crisis

By Elmer Bendiner

TWO MAGAZINES this October issued the same grim warning. Carl Rowan in a two-part story in the **Saturday Evening Post** wrote: "It is extremely likely that metropolitan areas of the North and West will be the settings of our great social crises of the coming years. Already there are signs that these years will be marked by unnecessary violence, political rancor, racial bitterness and general social upheaval."

Referring to the same areas beyond the Southern battlegrounds, Morton Grodzins in the **Scientific American** wrote: "The political forecast is a new round of repression aimed at Negroes."

Standing on the jimcrow side of a railroad platform in Jackson, Miss., Negro reporter Rowan saw scores of Negro families heading North. He heard one man ask how far North he could get on $15 if he left a couple of dollars for food. For many St. Louis is a way station. From there some push on to Chicago, turn east to New York, or west to Los Angeles. **Look** magazine last year estimated that 125,000 Negroes trek north yearly.

Shaking off the yoke of jimcrow laws and buses and washrooms, the Southern refugees find a land where lynching shocks most people; where they can vote and, within limits, mingle. But they find also the "subtle whip" of ghettoes, segregated schools, restricted jobs, off-limits resorts, open and concealed snubs.

BATTLES TO COME: Both magazine stories tell of current battles and more to come in the North and West as well as in the South. The skirmishes have been headlined in the daily press in Chicago, Detroit, Levittown, Pa., New York, Los Angeles. The outline of the battles to come are drawn in these two companion pieces.

Scientific American relates Negro immigration to another development long noted in the nation's cities: the flight to the suburbs. The two trends—an exodus of whites and an influx of Negroes—leads **Scientific American** to estimate that "within 30 years Negroes will constitute from 25 to 50% of the total population in at least 10 of the 14 largest central cities."

Close to one-fourth of New York City is now Negro and Puerto Rican. By 1970 the figure is expected to be one-third, with Manhattan at least 45% non-white. Negroes are now 19% of Chicago's population (up from 8% in 1940), and expected to be one-third by 1970. Los Angeles counted 14% in 1956. Washington, D.C. may now have a Negro majority.

BUT DON'T TOUCH ME: The grim portent of these figures is not in the rise of Negro population but in the flight of whites. Too many Northerners apparently feel, as one Negro complained to **Look** writer George B. Leonard a year ago: "Integration is like a super-highway. It's a fine thing as long as it doesn't come near your house."

The move to the suburbs may have other motives: sunshine, space, a garden of one's own. But **Scientific American** discloses that Negroes made up only 4% of the populations of metropolitan suburbs in 1940, only 5% in 1950. Where Negroes go to the suburbs they are hemmed into tight little islands; and homeowners in Levittown, Pa., Detroit and Long Island have been the first to rally with rebel-like yells against the prospect of Negro neighbors.

A PLACE IN THE SUN
But must it be on a city pavement?

Tapley in N.Y. Amsterdam News
HOME SWEET HOME

In charts and figures **Scientific American** traces the spread of ghettoes by the process of "tipping." Most whites, it is found, do not move out the moment a Negro moves into a neighborhood. Usually the first Negro family fits well into the area's existing class composition. Then the landlord may set out to "tip" the house renting only to Negroes and pressuring the whites to move. He charges Negroes more as a rule, then ups the rents for the white tenants.

OUTWARD PRESSURES: One white tenant in Chicago's Hyde Park area, who cheerfully stayed on after his apartment house had become predominantly Negro, told Rowan he had to move, despite his principles, because he could not pay the "color tax."

Even without deliberate plotting by the landlord, the outward pressure from the Negro areas forces more and more to find housing where they can. The "tipping point" varies from house to house and neighborhod to neighborhood, but it is always reached—the moment when the preponderance of Negroes grows too great for the remaining whites. What begins as an integrated community ends up segregated. A Chicago survey found not one instance between 1940 and 1950 of a community "with mixed population (25-75% non-white) in which succession from white to Negro occupancy was arrested."

Once a house has become wholly Negro the landlords milk their property, piling up two and three families in an apartment and reducing services. It is always possible because there are always Negro families desperate for housing. That is the pattern of slum-making. Maurice Fagan, director of the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission, once commented: "The real villains are the ghetto makers, the real-estate operators who make money out of racial prejudice."

MORE SEGREGATION: There may always be villains to make money out of prejudice but the root of the trouble lies more in the prejudice than in the villains. There are counter-trends in the community—moves to resist the slum-makers and the jimcrow patterns—but **Scientific American** reports, and Rowan concurs: "The larger evidence is not that of integration nor intracommunity social gains. Rather it is in the direction of more uncompromising segregation and larger Negro slums."

The take-over by Negroes of many of the cities is politically explosive. It may do more to throw out of alignment the old political parties than the intermittent threats of labor or the mutterings of Dixiecrats. The Democratic Party has relied on the machines of the North and these must now control a new group of people who have given up their home states because they had no vote. They will be likely to exercise that franchise in their new home.

HE IS PREPARED: The machines are trying to corral the vote as best they can. State legislatures are framing bills to gerrymander the Negro vote where they can and to consolidate outlying areas with the cities to counterweight the Negro vote with a white exurbanite vote. In some quarters there is a sense of panic that Negro representatives may legislate for the community at large.

Lester Granger of the National Urban League said last year: "The Northern Negro is becoming aware of his increasing political and economic power, and he is prepared to use legal means necessary to gain a decent life. Thus, the beleagured white man who clings to his prejudices will be drawn tighter and tighter into his circle of discrimination until the last things left him will be housing and the private club—and he'll fight a nasty fight every inch of the way."

It is too early to say what political forms the Northern Negro's fight may take. Rowan ventured only a hope for this "awesome political force. This can become a responsible force, used in the interest of civic growth and orderly progress toward more democratic cities. Or it can be a force of disruption, a new pocket of corruption to be exploited by selfish men who hold no real concern for either the Negro masses or the cities in which they live."

THE "UNCOUTH" ONES: The Negro community, according to Rowan, is divided. He reports: "A surprising number of well-established Negro residents also are expressing open resentment toward what they consider uncouth, unlettered 'Johnnys-come-lately' who they fear will cause deterioration of more-or-less good race relationships."

Rowan himself speaks of the "uncouth, ignorant Negro who does represent at least a temporary threat to morals, health and harmonious relations between the races." But the article points out that these newcomers from the South by and large have a higher literacy rate than the long-settled Northern Negroes.

Scientific American, with almost clinical detachment, traces the well-known connection between slum-living and crime. Rowan makes the point too, but yields perhaps too swiftly to superficial statistics. He says Negroes constitute 10% of New York City's population and commit about 35% of its crimes. In fact Negroes constitute anywhere from 13-18% of the population. New York crime statistics must inevitably be modified by the long-established factor that a Negro is twice as vulnerable as a white to false arrest (as in Harlem dragnet raids), frame-ups and quick convictions.

A REPORT TO COME: Rowan writes that "the proud, responsible Negro will never achieve complete acceptance until he forces society to examine the factors that created the uncouth ignoramus and then helps to lift the latter to a more acceptable level."

The current discussion in the magazines has heard from many sources. It has still to hear directly from the "uncouth" Southern migrant who has followed the old road to freedom only to find that he has to fight for it when he gets there. The full story cannot be told until that report is in.

Meanwhile, the conclusion is inescapable: the battle against racism is the key to U.S. politics and its front lines reach into every community. The "uncouth" white who burns crosses, signs covenants and seeks to short-circuit a people's freedom has this to ponder over. When **Scientific American** predicts "a new round of oppression aimed at Negroes" it adds:

"For this one, they will be better armed — in effective numbers, economic strength, political sophistication, and allies in the white population."

Catholic Worker

Up the Confederacy

UNION, S.C., Oct. 6 (AP)—Union County announced today it has purchased nine new Browning submachine guns and ammunition to fight off any "invasion of U.S. troops" that may be sent into the area over segregation or any other matter.
—L.A. Times, 10/7

The unrecognized red virus

THE PARIS DAILY **Liberation** recently charged that U.S. public health authorities had disregarded warnings of the Asian flu by the World Health Organization. The epidemic was noted first last January, said **Liberation**, but U.S. officials did not go to work on vaccine preparations until May 13. The paper speculated on the reason:

"If we dare to say so, this is a 'red virus.' . . . The Americans know of only one China, the tiny island of Formosa held by Chiang Kai-shek.

"They consistently oppose the entry of People's China into the organizations of the UN, whether it be the International Metrological Organization or that of World Health. The trouble is that, like the winds and tides, the virus does not understand the subtleties of diplomacy and it is a matter of complete indifference to it whether or not a government is recognized by another in order to multiply and cross the frontier without a passport."

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THERE AREN'T finer cards anywhere, selling for as as much as 25 cents, than our set by Chittaprosad of India. They are in full size (5-3/8 x 7 inches) and full color, printed on heavy stock. The designs, as you know if you sent or received them last year, are exquisite. As a refresher they are reproduced on the left. The cards were printed by the Knudsen Process to capture the full, rich color of the original art.

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Are you aware of Mr. Schmidt?

GODFREY P. SCHMIDT, the attorney providing free legal services to a group of 13 teamsters trying to void their union's recent convention, is a law professor at Fordham University who has long taken an odd interest in the labor movement. He was a staunch supporter of the late Sen. Joe McCarthy.

As president of AWARE Inc., he advocated loyalty and security screening for all employment but concentrated on blacklisting entertainers in radio and television. His organization's activities were so disruptive of unions in the industry that the American Fedn. of Television & Radio Artists voted in the summer of 1955 almost two to one to "condemn" AWARE Inc.

He won an earlier claim to fame in union circles in 1949 when he served as special legal counsel to Cardinal Spellman during the grave-diggers' strike of that year. The Cardinal used young theology students as strike-breakers.

Anti-labor spree

(Continued from Page 1)

to the recent Miami Beach convention and an accounting of all funds raised and spent on the convention. Many locals were reported planning to refuse to comply with the committee directive; lawyers for another group of locals requested a meeting with Sen. McClellan to determine if unionists who inadvertently supplied incorrect data would be open to prosecution for perjury.

On Oct. 17 all of labor was beginning to feel the effects of the new anti-labor climate generated by the attack on the teamsters. On that date it became known that Internal Revenue experts were making a nationwide check of expense allowances and bank deposits of union officials. The investigation was general and not confined to those unions already called before the Senate probers.

LEGAL TAKE-OVER: The temporary order barring Hoffa from taking office was issued in Washington by Federal Judge F. Dickinson Letts, an 82-year-old Iowa Republican who has been on the bench since 1931. It was in response to a petition by a group of 13 New York rank-and-file teamsters who are represented without charge by attorney Godfrey Schmidt, an official of the blacklisting organization AWARE Inc. Most anti-Hoffa forces within the union were apprehensive of the precedent of such drastic court intervention in the internal affairs of labor, but the N.Y. Times applauded the move "as a pioneering venture in the use of the courts to further the cause of democracy in labor union government."

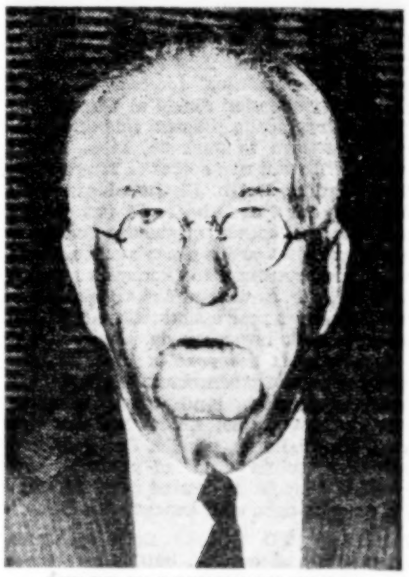
Under Judge Letts' restraining order, union attorneys appeared before him on Oct. 21 to show cause why the recent convention should not be declared void and all officers elected there permanently enjoined from taking office. Under a permanent injunction, a court-appointed master would have veto power over all union actions and union funds would be tied up with no transaction over $5,000 allowed. The injunction would remain in effect pending a full trial of The Thirteen's charge that the convention violated the union's constitution. If the finding was in The Thirteen's favor, another convention would be held under court supervision.

Judge Letts on Oct. 21 denied a union motion to dismiss the temporary restraining order and scheduled further hearings on the petition of The Thirteen. The union countered with a move for an early court trial of the issue; if granted, this would avoid the next phase of a preliminary injunction and would head off the immediate appointment of a court "master."

KNOWLAND THREATENS: The McClellan committee was cooperating fully with The Thirteen and on Oct. 17 voted formally to make available to them all committee files containing the records of the convention credentials committee.

The court order against the teamsters had no effect on the AFL-CIO executive council, which went ahead with its crackdown meeting with the union on Oct. 24. But some AFL-CIO leaders suggested that if an injunction were in force at that time, suspension of the teamsters might be delayed.

By Oct. 12 it became official that anti-labor legislation will be a major Republican goal in the next session of Congress.



JUDGE F. DICKINSON LETTS
No truck with Hoffa

Sen. William F. Knowland (R-Calif.) told newsmen following a breakfast conference with President Eisenhower that he will sponsor bills "to make unions more democratic." In his current campaign for the governorship of his home state he has made labor the prime issue and has proposed a seven-point legislative program which, if enacted, would reduce labor to a government-regulated agency.

PLAN OF ATTACK: Other Congressmen followed Knowland's lead. Sen. John M. Butler (R-Md.) announced that he will work in the next Congress to put labor under the anti-trust laws. McClellan committee council Robert F. Kennedy reported that the committee is considering a recommendation that unions charged with corruption be denied tax exemption. Sen. Carl T. Curtis (R-Neb.), a member of the McClellan committee, told the Ohio Chamber of Commerce he will work for legislation to "protect the rank and file of the men and women who work, and the employers, and the general public, from those practices and those individuals that dominate, plunder, disrupt and destroy." He proposed a seven-point program similar to Knowland's, the major points being to outlaw the union shop, extend anti-trust laws to labor and prohibit political activity by unions.

Sen. Curtis said the McClellan committee will issue an interim report before Jan. 1 and will continue its investigation through 1958.

THE RESPECTABLES: Meanwhile labor's efforts to prove its respectability against the McClellan committee's attacks by requiring accused leaders to prove their innocence came under criticism by the American Civil Liberties Union. The organization released a statement in Detroit specifically condemning an edict by United Auto Worker president Walter Reuther that any union officer invoking the Fifth Amendment must convince the union of his fitness to remain in office.

The ACLU said this reverses the basic principle of presumption of innocence, shifts the burden of proof from accuser to accused, penalizes a union officer for the exercise of a constitutional right, and "contributes to the erosion of the Bill of Rights." The ACLU called upon the UAW to reconsider its stand.

BOOKS THAT RUSSIAN NOVEL

'Not By Bread Alone'

IN MOSCOW, A YEAR after its publication, **Not By Bread Alone*** was still being discussed last month. I heard it praised as an honest exposé of bureaucratic excrescences, called everything from brilliant to bad as a literary work; and secretary Khrushchev, speaking the last word for the strongly critical Communist Party, described the book as "a prejudiced accumulation of negative facts."

Whether the author has or has not made a contribution to the strengthening of socialism, few question his sincere desire to do so—as passionately affirmed in his "epilogue" to "the FULL translation of Dudintsev's sensational Russian navel."

The book's good or bad political effect in the U.S.S.R. remains a matter for Soviet critics and Party leaders to argue about. To a witness of the Soviet people's frank, mature but deeply loyal posture in discussions with critical Westerners during the Youth Festival, fears of their contamination seem unwarranted even at the worst estimate of the book.

BUT SOVIET LEADERS are worried also about its possible effect abroad. Dudintsev himself was "horror-stricken" by the way some foreign journalists seized upon his "negative facts—the 'dirt' which I washed out when I cleansed some dirty linen"—as weapons against his country in the propaganda cold war. Festival visitors, by the way, noted that Soviet audiences and journalists did not react in this way to the British "dirt" in John Osborne's play, **Look Back in Anger.**

For one thing, the most propaganda-drugged American reader will ask himself how the "prison of the mind" picture of the U.S.S.R. fits in with the publication of such a book in a leading magazine and an edition of 30,000. (From the way some anti-Sovieteers have talked about it, one might think it was something smuggled out of prison like Djilas' **The New Class.**)

FROM THE MARXIST point of view there is ground for criticism. It is quite believable on the evidence that Dudintsev, in describing the criminal bureaucracy and spiritual corruption which thwart his inventor-hero Lopatkin, intends no attack on the Party as such. But the Party is too vital a part of Soviet life to be omitted from mention until page 271, and then to be thrown only a bone or two of justification for its generally-accepted role of leadership in building honest socialists.

Toward the end, a Party man who has done right by Lopatkin and the state refuses a decoration for it because "I did what any decent person would have done, and still more, a Communist." Dudintsev cannot refrain from having another character gibe at this "original way of reasoning. One doesn't hear it very often. It is not the custom with us to let the spoon pass the mouth." Many, if not most, of those who conspire against Lopatkin are presumably Communists but he does not so identify them. Even if the degree of implied criticism of Communists is justified, this is a less-than-honest way of dealing with a subject which his theme calls on him to tackle.

VLADIMIR DUDINTSEV
A swipe at bureaucracy

MUCH DULL SOVIET fiction stressing the collective has proved that flesh-and-blood individuals are the indispensable raw material for socialist just as for capitalist novels. Dudintsev's positive and negative characters—drawn for the most part with sensitivity, humor and avoidance of Boy Scout white and Captain Hook black—not only come alive for the reader but make a living thing of the social struggle they personify. But while he properly shows people shaping history for good or ill within certain limitations, the parallel process of events shaping and re-shaping people is neglected. The author's "explanation" of his characters continues to unfold, but the molds have been set and their performance is always as expected.

Admirably presented are the problems—not essentially different from those faced in the capitalist world — of a man battling to force new ideas through the wall of vested interests, the "invisible empire of bureaucracy." These new ideas would disrupt the smoothness of things-as-they-are for its selfish beneficiaries, who, if they can't suppress them, will appropriate them for their own greater glory and resort to legal frame-up to destroy the originator. The defeat of this "kind of capitalism," and of the cult of the individual (in this case a distinguished academician whose courtiers intone his phrases like psalms), is necessary for a socialist society's very survival. But it is able to protect itself by claiming to represent "collective opinion" against "a hero but a solitary one" (as the cynical bureaucrat Drozdov describes Lopatkin.)

LOPATKIN, A LONE WOLF by necessity rather than preference, and the various people with faith and feelings who help and encourage him, will not accept that a collective opinion must be right just because it is or seems to be collective. As the dissenting judge at his frame-up trial insists when told that "public opinion" and "state interests" demand a conviction: has it the right to call itself public opinion, are the interests really those of the state? "A state official is not the state, and a scientific big pot, or even three scientific big pots, are not science."

Lopatkin wants to help build communism but not "vulgar communism" which aspires to see "everyone strutting around in cloth-of-gold." The communism that inspires him against all humiliation and ritual slogans is "not a construction thought out by philosophers, but a force which has existed for a long time" in the common people. Against Drozdov's coarse rationalization about the priority of "things" as the foundation for the future, his wife Nadia—later Lopatkin's companion and wife—poses the priority of "relationships between people in connection with things." One soon perceives that she, who is so much more concerned about people, is the better socialist not despite but because of it.

In the end, Lopatkin asks Nadia if it is true that "after all, I have won this long struggle for myself alone?" The question remains unanswered. Now almost nostalgic for his days of struggle, he has no stomach for the promised serenity and for settling down cozily with a TV, a dacha and a car. Against the "invisible empire" he sees only a battle, not the war, as having been won—and wonders if it isn't time for him "to go into politics." It undoubtedly is more than time.

ALL IN ALL, this is a good novel, if hardly a promise of greatness for its author. As a powerful re-assertion of the values of personal love and friendship within the new collective society, it is in my opinion useful to the cause of better Soviet-Western understanding. As an exposé of malpractices in the Stalin era, it lacks balance—but so did secretary Khrushchev's 20th Congress report, if the published text of it was even substantially correct.

That bureaucracy has held the new society back, nobody denies; yet in spite of it, the Soviet continues to amaze us all by the way they get things done. While Dudintsev exaggerates it to make his point, the USSR runs the world's only jet airline and sends the first man-made satellite whizzing around our puzzled globe.

—**Cedric Belfrage**

* *NOT BY BREAD ALONE by Vladimir Dudintsev, E.P. Dutton, 300 Fourth Av., N.Y. 10. 512 pp. $4.95.*

Notes on current books

WHY WE BEHAVE LIKE AMERICANS by Bradford Smith, Lippincott, 322 pp., $4.95.

EDUCATOR scans the U.S., including its marital relations, foreign policy, frozen foods, class lines and juvenile delinquency. Swift, sweeping and shallow. Smith refutes Marx on ground that no class war exists in U.S. He deplores jimcrow but sees hope that a rising Negro upper-middle-class will break down stereotypes. Freud applied freely to politics: "The President is our father-leader who knows what is best for us and whom we tend to revere and follow or hate and flout. Congress is the subconscious expressing itself—the hatred of father, of order and responsibility and authority."— **E.B.**

THE TWELFTH STEP by Thomas Randall, Charles Scribner's Sons, N.Y., 568 pp., $4.95.

A NOVEL of six people drying out in a ward for alcoholics. They shriek, shake, sip paraldehyde, talk rather unlikely dialogue and produce an effective, if exhausting, sermon on the evils of drink. The author (he uses a pen name) is a reformed alcoholic who pays his tribute to Alcoholics Anonymous. An A.A. missionary sum up the brotherhood: "There are no dues or fees, no membership cards or rules or duties. Our organization is as loose as a two-dollar call girl." The A.A. apparently has trouble with intellectuals. As one of the book's characters says: "They have the hardest time because the program is too simple for them. It's like looking at Swiss cheese. They see the holes." Holes and all, A.A. nonetheless won out with the real-life Thomas Randall and set him to writing a sober, hell-fire-and-damnation tract, if not a particularly good novel.—**E.B.**

Culture note

"A VERY remarkable novel . . . It is exotic, dangerously so. . . . It seethes with hunchbacks and the one-eyed, with spies and perverts and whores, with white-slave children, even . . . altogether worth our delighted and admiring attention."

N.Y. **Herald Tribune** Book Review
Winfield Townley Scott,
—Ad in L.A. **Mirror-News**, 9/30

NOT FOR POOR PEOPLE

Tax loopholes

Reprinted from the Oregon Labor Press:

THE **Oregon Labor Press** has a firm rule against giving free plugs for commercial enterprises in its news or editorial columns. But in this case we're glad to make an exception.

In today's mail we received an advertisement from the Prentice-Hall Company of Englewood Cliffs, N. J., a firm that specializes in telling big corporations and their executives how to cut their taxes.

Prentice-Hall's bulletin is called "How Tax Experts Reduce Their Personal Tax Bills," and it adds the exciting footnote that "this notice will be of special interest to executives and company owners in the $25,000 to $50,000 bracket."

We're not quite sure how many **Oregon Labor Press** readers are in this bracket, but we certainly don't want any of them to miss the tax loopholes described by Prentice-Hall. The company makes the following claims, among others, for its special tax report:

"It gives you four foolproof ways to get money out of the company at capital gains rates . . . if your tax bill is around $20,000 you can save about $5,000 by switching just 30 per cent of ordinary income over to capital gains.

"It gives you a way a man's wife can get him an extra $1,000 deduction that's so easy you'll wonder why you didn't think of it yourself.

"It explains how a man with a son in college (who costs him, say, $2,500 a year) can provide income directly to the son and in this way save more in taxes than the whole $2,500 a year.

"It explains how employing members of your family in the business gives them income and gives the business a deduction for them.

"By dividing income among the family, men in the $20,000 to $100,000 class can virtually cut their tax in two."

Prentice-Hall's tax manual will tell you all these things and more, in case you qualify as an executive in the $25,000 to $50,000 bracket. But nowhere in the three-page advertisement did we find any mention of tax loopholes for wage earners.

For example, can a wage earner claim a "depletion allowance" for the human resources of age and energy and brain and skill that he uses up on the job? He cannot.

No, there are no tax loopholes for the wage earner. He not only pays his full share, but he pays it in advance through withholding. And sometimes he wonders about the gaping tax loopholes that benefit the rich. And are they legal? Are they morally justified? Are they fair?

Guardian's Ninth Anniversary Dinner

Thurs., Nov. 21 in New York

INTEGRATION SLOW DESPITE THE NOISE

Both parties seek political gain by exploiting Little Rock issue

ALL WAS QUIET in Little-Rock, Ark., over the Oct. 19 weekend but politicians of both parties, North and South, were busily stirring up the school integration issue for whatever political gain they could hope from it.

The Eisenhower Administration itself took a new tack on Oct. 15 by an official determination to exploit the Little Rock situation for votes. The new campaign was led off by Sherman Adams, President Eisenhower's closest and most powerful aide. He called Little Rock a symbol of the cancer that divides the Democratic Party: a "cancer that has eaten away the party's ability to give responsible service at home and abroad."

DIXIE RUMBLES: The Democratic Advisory Council countered this on Oct. 20 with the adoption of a statement charging that the President's delay in acting on the Little Rock issue was "substantially responsible for the trouble" there.

Growing Democratic criticism of President Eisenhower for not appointing the six-man bipartisan Civil Rights Commission provided for in the civil rights bill adopted in the last session of Congress brought a White House announcement that the Commission would be named before Congress meets again in January. Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) meanwhile announced that he would ask the Senate to establish a committee to investigate the White Citizens Councils to see if they embrace "any elements or activities inimical to the conduct of the foreign and domestic policy of the U.S."

BACK IN LITTLE ROCK: There was no sign in Little Rock itself that the deadlock between the President and Gov. Orval E. Faubus would be broken soon. A group of Little Rock civic leaders had planned to reveal a compromise "solution" on Oct. 17 but at the last moment cancelled its announcement. Five Republican members of Congress from the South were to meet with President Eisenhower in an effort to have troops withdrawn from Little Rock, but no date was announced for the meeting.

Five hundred of the 1,000 paratroopers stationed in Little Rock were withdrawn on Oct. 14 and all but 1,800 of 10,300 National Guard troops under Federal command were demobilized. But this reduction of military strength did not appease Faubus. He said: "We are still occupied. I don't regard this as bringing a peaceful solution any closer."

The Governor still insisted that the only solution acceptable to him would be the removal of the nine Negro students from Central High School. At one point he hinted that he was considering a public appeal to the students and their parents for "voluntary withdrawal." Spokesment for the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People denied rumors that the parents were planning to remove the students from the school.

PEOPLE GET TIRED: A court suit for removal of the troops, brought by a Little Rock mother, was dismissed by Federal Judge Ronald N. Davies. Attorney for the mother said he would appeal the decision and would ask the Arkansas delegation in Congress to seek Judge Davies' impeachment.

A recent Little Rock city ordinance calling on the NAACP to disclose its membership rolls and financial records backfired somewhat when Mayor Woodrow Wilson Mann ruled that the new law applies equally to three segregationist groups in the city—the Capital Citizens Council, the Little Rock Freedom Fund and the Mothers League of Central High School.

With Little Rock quiet—on the surface at least—the editor of the Arkansas Gazette predicted that the situation will "wear itself out." He said that "people will get tired of agitation and fighting and realize they're not going to get anything out of it." Meanwhile a Bethesda, Md., minister launched a college scholarship fund for deserving students, Negro and white, at Central High School and flew there to turn over the first sums raised to local citizens.

ONLY THE BEGINNING: While integration of the schools remained the most explosive political issue in the country, actual figures showed that very little progress was being made. The Southern Education Reporting Service said that only 740 of the South's 3,040 bi-racial school districts had made a start in integration. In seven Southern states—Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia—there was no integration at all. In four states—Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee and Texas—there was only token integration. Partial integration has occurred in Delaware, the District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia. The District of Columbia was in the lead with 79% of its Negro children attending mixed schools.

PUBLICATIONS

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NOTE: Final registrations will still be taken at this forum for Marxist Theory classes just beginning. Also for new classes to start Nov. 4, including "High Finance" and "Pavlov and Freud."
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SCOTT NEARING, noted socialist author and lecturer, will speak on "Can the West Reoccupy Asia?" at the Community Church, 40 E. 35 St., 8 p.m. on Sun., Oct. 27. Questions and discussions will follow the lecture.

Bon voyages

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How happy Cedric Belfrage must feel traveling everywhere, Ghana, Moscow and now China. I read his correspondence with great interest.

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6:45—U.S. Labor Since 1900 .... FONER
8:30—The Marxist Method .... SELSAM

WEDNESDAYS
6:45—Boom and Bust in U.S. .... WEISE
8:30—Philosophy of Art .... FINKELSTEIN

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Hear **MURRY WEISS**, Socialist Workers Party, speak on the **"FUTURE OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM."** Fri., Nov. 1, 8:15 p.m. at 777 W. Adams St.

AVON THEATRE, 3327 W. Fullerton, now showing prize-winning new Soviet movie **"THE 41st"** in color, plus new Soviet documentaries including **"KISHINEV"** of special interest to Jewish people, Oct. 25-31. Tel. HUmboldt 6-2110.

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Bay Area, Calif.

MAUD RUSSELL speaks on "Current Issues in the Mid- and Far East." **Sat., Nov. 23, 8:30 p.m.**, at home of Shirley & Richard Weinerman, 701 Hancock Way, in El Cerrito.

Sunday, Nov. 24, 2:30 p.m., at 3936 Canon Av., Oakland.

Philadelphia

ALLYN & ADELE RICKETT: "We Were Prisoners in Red China." Teachers Union Forum. Fri., Nov. 1, 8:30 p.m., at John Bartram Hotel. Contrib. $1.50 to Legal Fund.

New York

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Tuesday, October 29th
DR. W.E.B. DU BOIS
The Negro in American History at 7:15 P.M.
DR. OTTO NATHAN
Karl Marx & Contemporary Capitalism at 9 P.M.
Wednesday, October 30th
DR. BARROWS DUNHAM
400 Years of Philosophy at 7:15 P.M.
KUMAR GOSHAL
The Changing Face of Africa & Asia at 9 P.M.
Thursday, October 31st
F. G. CLARKE
Trends & Leaders in the USSR, Eastern Europe and China at 8 P.M.
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Sunday, Oct. 27, 8:15 P.M.
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• **JAMES E. JACKSON, Jr.**
Secretary for Southern Affairs, Communist Party.
Admission: $1.
NOTE: Registrations will be taken at this Forum by the teachers of the new "Marxist Theory" Classes, to begin in the week of Oct. 28th.
ACADEMY HALL, — 853 Broadway..

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Publications

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N. Y. lecture series: Strindberg to Brecht

A SERIES of six Friday evening lectures, "From Strindberg to Bertolt Brecht," will be given beginning Nov. 1 by Dr. Frederick Ewen at the Master Institute of United Arts, 310 Riverside Drive, New York City. The series is under the auspices of Drama-Tours. With Fri., Nov. 29, skipped as part of the Thanksgiving weekend, the topics in order will be Strindberg, Chekhov and Gorki, Post World War I writers, the 1930's, modern French drama and Bertolt Brecht. Single sessions are $1.25; the series $6.

THE GALLERY

HARRY BELAFONTE who has been openly critical of productions in which he has lately appeared—such as **Island in The Sun**—is now making his own movies under the firm name of Harbel Productions. When the company was first rumored, it was thought that John Killens' exciting novel of Negro family life in the South, **Youngblood**, would be the first venture. It's still on the schedule but held "in abeyance." So is another Killens script, **The Brothers**, a Civil War story of two half-brothers, one white, the other half-Negro. Instead, Harbel will start with **End of the World**, a 1962 story of survivors after an unspecified "cataclysmic event." Belafonte will star. After this, perhaps a new beginning with the Killens film. . . . Charlie Chaplin has agreed to let Mike Wallace film an interview with him for his ABC show but no date has yet been set for making the film in Europe . . . Columnists have noted the possibility that Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Miller may appear on Martin Agronsky's show, **Look Here** on NBC-TV some Sunday.

THE BOSTON SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA opened its 77th season this year with a breakthrough in its double-bass section as sensational as that scored by the Brooklyn Dodgers when they hired Jackie Robinson. For the first time a Negro double-bass will play with the orchestra as a regular member. He is Ortiz Walton, 30, who formerly played with the Buffalo symphony. Short-hair music owes so much of its soul to the Negro that it could scarcely exist without him; but for years the big-city symphonies have been jimcrow . . . The Los Angeles Philharmonic hired its first Negro symphonic musician, 19-year-old contrabass Henry Lewis, a few years ago, but he is now in the Army. In 1956 when the Symphony of the Air hired three Negro musicians for one appearance, one of the white members of the orchestra walked out.

VICTOR ALEXANDROV'S new biography, **Khrushchev of the Ukraine** (Philosophical Library, 15 E. 40 St., N.Y. 16, $4.75) reveals among other things that Khrushchev starred in a Russian kind of baseball called "lapta"; had his first drink at 16—a Ukrainian liqueur called "spotykatch," and for years lived with a Jewish family in Mariupol, lighting fires for them on the Sabbath, developing an addiction to "stuffed fish" and helping them stave off pogroms . . . Folksinger Sam Hinton will appear at Los Angeles' First Unitarian Church on Nov. 8 in a concert sponsored by the Religious Freedom Committee. Hinton has taught biology as well as music, has written several children's books and is the curator of the Aquarium Museum of the Scripps Institute of Oceanography at La Jolla, Calif.

MRS. CATHERINE MORROS has filed suit against her counter-spy husband Boris for separate maintenance on grounds of cruelty. She has also asked for the return of the money she contributed out of her personal funds to support the FBI agent's aged father . . . For young people who have asked for publications mainly directed to them two monthlies are offered: (1) **The Young Socialist**, a new four-page tabloid, describing itself as "a sounding board for radical youth of different tendencies," offices at 218 7th Av., New York 11; (2) **World Youth**, a 32-page semi-slick, published by the World Fedn. of Democratic Youth in Berlin. Subs may be had at 351 Goswell Rd., London, E.C.1, England. Both are $1 a year.

AT ACADEMY HALL

New Marxist classes in New York

TEN NEW classes in Marxist theory and its application will be offered at the Academy Hall, 853 Broadway, New York City, beginning the week of Oct. 28.

Among the classes and instructors are: "New Problems in Marxist Theory" and the "History of the Negro people in the U.S.," with Herbert Aptheker; "Boom and Bust: The Economic Cycle in the U.S.," with Meyer Welse; "Social Philosophy of the Arts: A Marxist Analysis," with Sidney Finkelstein; "Changing Systems: The Marxist View of Human History," with Henry Klein; "The History of U.S. Labor Since 1900," with Philip S. Foner; "The Puerto Ricans in the Marxist Method: Dialectical Materialism and Its Application," with Howard Selsam; "The Science of Marxism: An Introduction," with Harold Collins, and "The South Today," with Abner Berry.

Inquiries may be addressed to the individual instructors at Academy Hall. During the weeks of Oct. 28 and Nov. 4, registrations will be taken at the beginning of each class session.

Little Rock forum in N.Y. Oct. 27

"THE CHALLENGE of Little Rock" will be the theme of a public forum Sunday eve., Oct. 27 at Academy Hall, 853 Broadway. Speakers will include Dr. Herbert Aptheker, historian and author of **A Documentary History of the Negro People**, and James E. Jackson Jr., secretary for southern affairs of the Communist Party and an eye-witness observer of the recent events in Little Rock. There will be audience participation.

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Lonesome Traveller
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When the Saints Go Marching In
I've Got a Home in That Rock
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the SPECTATOR

Cliff McAvoy's memorial

On Oct. 13 in New York there was a reception for the faculty of the new program of socialist studies of the Socialist Unity Forum. The five six-week evening courses began Oct. 20 at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Av., New York. The faculty comprises Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, Dr. Otto Nathan, Kumar Goshal, Barrows Dunham and F. G. Clarke. The meeting was also a memorial for Clifford T. McAvoy, a founder of the Forum and initiator of the studies program, who died last August. Author Harvey O'Connor gave a memorial to McAvoy. It follows in part.

I BELIEVE CLIFF would have allowed us one moment of grief at this memorial meeting, but hardly more. How can we escape the acknowledgment of our sorrow, of our loss when one so courageous, so devoted, so high-spirited, has been taken from us so many years before his time? Our ranks are too thin to be deprived of so brave a fighter.

Cliff was not only an idealist, a practical politician and a lover of mankind—he was also a musician. And I like to think tonight that he is rejoicing in the music of that sphere that goes beep-beep-beeping around the globe—rejoicing because socialist science has pierced another frontier of knowledge. For he was first, last and always a socialist as well as a politician, a musician and a teacher.

CLIFFORD T. McAVOY

I like to think that of all the tributes to his memory he would most have enjoyed what we are initiating tonight, this venture in socialist education. This was the project closest to his heart; and if, unhappily, we must have a memorial to our friend, then this is the finest and the best.

I know of nothing more important than the work of socialist education. I could even drop the adjective and say that what all of us in this land of ours need most is education, thinking, theory. Our departing Secretary of Defense summed up our weakness well the other day when he said he didn't care to know why the sky is blue and the grass is green—what he wants is results! Well, he has his results, as little Sputnik goes beeping around the world. Mr. Wilson also said that there is no need for us to assume that Socialist Man is ten feet tall. But after Sputnikshka began beep-beeping, someone in Washington observed that perhaps after all it would be well for Capitalist Man to go on the assumption that Socialist Man is really ten feet tall, and act accordingly.

Perhaps the best commentary of all on Capitalist Man and Sputnik was given by President Eisenhower himself the other day in press conference. He was being asked repeatedly if more was going to be done in scientific research. His answer was as honest and simple as the man himself. He said: "Now, I have provided to the limit of my ability the money that they asked for, and that is all that I can do." Money, the measure of all things under capitalism!

NOW I BELIEVE that as socialists we can wring some wry amusement from the admitted impotence of the business man-capitalist when confronted by theory, by daring advances in the fields of science and the humanities made possible by theory, abstract theory, if you please. But we are not here tonight to congratulate ourselves on the virtues of socialism. We here in this country have nothing to brag about—absolutely nothing. And we would be paying poor homage to Cliff McAvoy if we were content merely to bask in reflected glory.

The truth of the matter is that socialists in the United States are as short on theory as the business men. The country with the greatest technical know-how in the world had to import the brains of Einstein and Fermi to usher in the atomic age. For our part, and we are proud of it, we too are in debt theoretically to men of other nations—to Marx and Engels and Lenin and Mao Tse-tung. But we are as poverty-stricken ourselves in contributions to the theory of socialism as our capitalists are in the general realm of science. We have had a DeLeon, a Boudin, a Sweezy, but how many among us are studying the application of Marxist theory to developments within our own country? Rather, have we not, in the past generation, acted and acted and acted, in many most praiseworthy ways, but we have thought, pondered, reflected, hardly at all.

Could it be this which is responsible—in part at least—for so much of the disillusionment and the demoralization among those who either threw away their critical faculties, or never had any, so far as the grave defects of the Soviet system were concerned? I am told that the shock of revelations in recent years has driven thousands of these out of our movement, perhaps never to return, shell-shocked victims of their illusions. Cliff never had to join the ranks of the disillusioned for the good reason that he didn't believe in illusions, even when they were dressed up in the garments of socialism.

We face a trying time. Our socialist movement has to be built from scratch. We have touched bottom in this mightiest of all imperialist nations, and have nowhere to go but up. How to get up is our problem, the one, great overriding challenge to which Cliff McAvoy gave so much of his life. We will get up by learning, by thinking, by welding theory to practice, by knowing our people intimately.

—Harvey O'Connor